

ENGLISH SUFFRAGETTES FIGHT HARD SIX YEARS



MISS ANNIE KENNY.
WOMAN'S SOCIAL AND
POLITICAL UNION,
LONDON.



MISS CHRISTABEL
PANKHURST AT
WORK

SUFFRAGISTS' CORONATION DEMONSTRATION
IN LONDON JOAN OF ARC.

MRS. PANKHURST AND MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE
AT THE HEAD OF PROCESSION IN LONDON
CHRISTABEL PANKHURST IS BEHIND HER MOTHER.



LADY
CONSTANCE
LYTTON



MISS MARY
LEIGH, DRUM-MAJOR
OF THE LONDON SUFFRAGISTS
BAND.

It is just one month ago to-day that the House of Commons rejected by a vote of 232 to 208 a woman suffrage bill, popularly known as the Conciliation bill, which would have conferred parliamentary franchise upon about 1,000,000 women taxpayers of Great Britain.

The defeat marked the end of a six years' strenuous campaign on the part of the Women's Social and Political Union, from whose ranks have been recruited the bands of suffragettes who heckled candidates at political meetings, fought with policemen who prevented them from entering Government buildings, and the houses of Cabinet ministers, served many terms in prison for the sake of the cause, and as a grand climax broke thousands of dollars worth of plate glass in the windows of London's fashionable shops during the first week of March. None of the militant leaders, however, was present when the decision was taken on the bill.

Mrs. Pankhurst, president of the union, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, editors of its official organ, *Votes for Women*, were in jail waiting trial on a charge of conspiracy in connection with the window breaking episode, while Christabel Pankhurst, frequently called the Jeannette of the movement, was hiding from Scotland Yard detectives who held a warrant for her arrest on a similar charge.

Many friends of the cause joined with those who opposed it in saying that the violence of the recent demonstrations had antagonized some members of Parliament and thereby killed the bill, but the suffragettes retorted that they didn't care a fig about the bill. While the debate was going on in the house Annie Kenney, the factory girl who helped Christabel Pankhurst initiate militancy in Manchester in the autumn of 1905, was presiding over a meeting in Albert Hall at which \$50,000 was raised for a war fund. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were released from custody in time to put in an appearance on the platform while the speeches were in progress and Ierag Zangwill, Elizabeth Robins, author of "The Convert," Annie Besant and several others eulogized

the women who were arrested for smashing glass.

Mr. Zangwill after expressing his entire sympathy with the window breakers said: "We have heard a good deal of the damage to property. But there is spiritual property far more precious than plate glass and far less replaceable—there is the respect for law and order and the majesty of the law, the slowly gathered acquisitions of civilization. It is an asset of the state that prisoners shall be held in contempt and statesmen in reverence. It is an injury to the state when prisoners are held in reverence and statesmen in contempt. And by tens of thousands of women Holloway is now held in more honor than Downing Street. Tens of thousands of women look on the state as an enemy to be thwarted. Tens of thousands of women would shelter a refugee from justice. Tens of thousands of women refused to fill up their census papers and the state dared not take action. It is the negation of government. The responsibility for this disastrous situation lies on the shoulders of Mr. Asquith, that political halfbreed who is neither true Tory nor true Liberal."

Glass Breaking a Symbol.

Mr. Zangwill went on to explain that the breaking of glass by the suffragettes was merely a symbol. None of them wanted to injure the shopkeepers. The windows of the latter were broken as they might be by shells in time of war. The whole cost, he said, was not equal to the sum it took to guard Winston Churchill in Belfast nor to one hour of the coal strike and broken glass wasn't much anyway compared with the broken promises of Mr. Asquith and the broken lives of the suffragette martyrs. After exhorting them to keep right on working according to the methods they had been pursuing, he added that it was not on their tactics that the certainty of their triumph rested, but on the justice of their cause.

"This is the answer," he said, "to the frequent fear that any fastidist hereafter may find precedent in your violence. Fastidists are doomed by their own folly. Your invincibility lies in the unreason of your opponents."

There are those, however, who do not agree with Mr. Zangwill regarding

either the ethics or the expediency of the latest phase of militancy. They contend that while heckling and petitioning and attempts at forcing their way into the presence of officials who did not want to see them were all perfectly excusable political methods on the part of those who were devoting themselves to the emancipation of their countrywomen and the hunger strike one of the noblest forms of martyrdom ever invented, the destruction of private property belongs in altogether a different category and that those who have ordered any such action have given the tradesmen genuine cause for grievance, the Government a plausible excuse for ignoring their demands and meting out to them severe punishment and the anti-suffragists an opportunity to say that they have demonstrated their unfitness for the vote.

In the meantime the suffrage situation is politically very much up in the air. Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence are out on bail, but are under bonds not to instigate any public demonstration on the part of their followers before their trial. Christabel's hiding place is still unknown, and Mrs. Tuke, who was Mrs. Pankhurst's companion in the window smashing brigade, is in such wretched health that the Magistrate in the Bow street police court alleged her physical condition as one of the reasons for not committing her to trial on a charge of conspiracy. It is hardly likely that without the leadership of any of these officers the suffragettes will undertake any important militant action. They hint darkly that their previous demonstrations were but child's play compared to those which will be seen in the near future, but many of them confess that they are somewhat nervous about the outcome of the Pankhurst-Lawrence trial, to say nothing of their anxiety lest the elusive Christabel should be

discovered and arrested. Christabel is the idol of thousands of militants who stand ready to obey her slightest nod and who quote her lightest word as the utterance of a sage. And Christabel never falters in her purpose, never hints at compromise.

"We defy the Government and the stupid and brutal attempt to wear out by delay and to stamp out by oppression women's demand for political freedom," she wrote in the letter which she contrived to send to the Albert Hall meeting from her mysterious hiding place. "They will tear the stars from the sky before they will break the spirit of the women of this country. What are we fighting for? Not for sympathy, not for plaudits, not for second readings, not for facilities, not for so-called opportunities. We are fighting for the vote and nothing less than the vote. Therefore until a measure giving equal voting rights to women is actually on the statute book, we as self-respecting women cannot and will not be at peace with the Government."

The militants declare that it has been intimated to them that if they will promise to be good the Government will withdraw the charge of conspiracy against the leaders, and will even release the women who are serving terms in jail for their part in the recent raid. Faithful to the spirit of the Pankhurst ultimatum, however, they declare that there can be no peace without honor, and so the eighty-five suffragettes who are serving terms of from three to six months in Holloway, Aylesbury or Winslow Green have no immediate prospect of freedom.

Many Forces Against Bill.

It is difficult, however, to imagine any possible way in which they could force the Government to bring in a woman suffrage bill for some time to come. The home rule bill and the Welsh disestablishment bill will occupy the remainder of the present session undoubtedly, even to the exclusion of Lloyd George's pet

reform bill which provides for manhood suffrage, and to which the Government has promised to permit a woman suffrage amendment to be added. The suffragettes maintain that the same forces which would inevitably have destroyed the Conciliation bill had it come to a third reading would operate to defeat such an amendment.

They point out that the Nationalists who would be constrained to vote for a Government woman suffrage bill in order to keep the Liberal party in power for the sake of the home rule bill would be under no more obligation to vote for an amendment brought in by a private member than they had been to support the Conciliation bill. No pressure would be put upon the Liberal members by the party whips to support the measure, they say and of course the Tory members who would have voted for a limited franchise for women could not be expected to support a bill for universal suffrage. They do not hesitate to state, in fact, that they will never again have any faith in any suffrage bill introduced by a private member no matter what facilities are promised for it by the Government, and the history of such bills would seem to justify them in their attitude.

When Gladstone introduced the bill enfranchising farm laborers in 1884 the suffragists besought him to add a Government amendment for votes for women. He refused and said that the Government would disclaim all responsibility for the bill if a private member's amendment was carried. He consented to the introduction of a private bill in 1885, but arranged that it should never come up for discussion.

A similar fate attended many succeeding bills, none of which came up for the third

in a manhood suffrage bill 200 women were arrested for breaking the windows of public buildings.

The militants defend their tactics on the ground that since sixty years of petitioning and other "constitutional" methods on the part of the conservative suffragists, of whom Mrs. Millicent Fawcett is now the leader, had been of no avail it behooved the progressives to respond to the oft repeated challenge to women to prove that they wanted the vote. In June, 1908, they had the largest mass meeting ever held in Hyde Park, it being estimated that 100,000 persons were assembled there at one time.

They assert that as a result of their interference in by-elections more than forty Liberal candidates were defeated in 1908 and about the same number in 1910. It was admitted by politicians that no election could be held anywhere in England or Scotland without reckoning with Mrs. Pankhurst. The following year they refused to submit to the restrictions imposed upon third class prisoners in Holloway jail and in order to gain their point tried the "hunger strike." They were then subjected to forcible feeding, a process which endangered the lives of several of them and made many others very ill.

Starved Out of Prison.

One of the first to attempt to starve herself out of prison was Lady Constance Lytton, who was quickly released on the report of the prison doctor that she had a weak heart. Fearing that she was being more leniently dealt with than most of her fellow prisoners because of her social position Lady Constance assumed a disguise and as Jane Warton led a procession of men in Liverpool to protest against the treatment of the suffragettes in prison. She was arrested

tacks made upon them and made no attempt whatever to injure either the persons or the property of their opponents except an occasional breaking of a window in order to effect an entrance for some message to a Cabinet Minister written on a paper wrapped around a stone. After the March raids, however, they talked freely of the possibility of the blowing up of Government buildings, and one hysterical woman actually set fire to a heap of shavings in the post office after closing hour. That these threats were taken seriously is evidenced by the fact that the state apartments at Buckingham Palace and Hampton Court were closed to the public for days and that special guards were put around the British Museum, while an exhibition of valuable paintings at the Royal Academy was suspended indefinitely.

To all questions as to what they expect to gain by an attack upon tradesmen or art treasures the militants reply that the only way to break through the crass indifference of the middle class man is to attack his pocketbook, and they reiterate their intention of continuing such attacks until at least a thousand women shall have been sent to prison because of their protests against what the Pankhurst followers term Mr. Asquith's treachery.

In the meantime Mrs. Pankhurst has apparently forgotten all about suffrage bills of all varieties, either for men or women.

SPREAD OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE THROUGHOUT ENTIRE CIVILIZED WORLD

When the first woman suffrage convention was held in Seneca Falls in 1848 women had no sort of political franchise in any part of the world except in the State of Kentucky, where tax paying widows and spinners had school suffrage. To-day women may vote on precisely the same terms as men in Australia, Finland, Norway, New Zealand, the Republic of China, the Isle of Man and six of the United States. They have municipal suffrage in Great Britain, Sweden, Iceland, Denmark, the Transvaal, Serbia, the province of Baroda, in India, and the State of Kansas and may vote by proxy for municipal officers in Bohemia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, while they have suffrage in trades councils in Germany, France, Italy and Belgium; ecclesiastical suffrage in Switzerland and some form of school or taxpayers' suffrage in various parts of the United States.

The latest group of women to be enfranchised are those of the first Asiatic republic. Chinese women have had the ballot for only a few weeks, but during that time they have learned to use it with a facility equal to that of the men, to whom it is just now as new a tool. Yik Yuan Yin has been elected member of Parliament. The Provincial Assembly of Canton has ten representatives. American born Chinese women have been voting in California, and many Chinese women in this city have become so enthusiastic over politics that they have signified their intention of marching in Saturday's parade.

The earliest recognition of political equality between the sexes was in Sweden, where taxpaying widows and spinners have had municipal franchise since 1802. The second was in Bohemia. Women who are over twenty-four years of age and pay taxes and all women of the learned professions have been allowed to vote by proxy in all of its municipalities except Prague and Liberec since 1861. They are also allowed to vote in the same way for members of the Diet of Bohemia, and are themselves eligible for election to that body. They have not the right to

vote for representatives to the Central Parliament of Austria.

The Bohemian Liberals have started a movement for universal suffrage, but the Government at Vienna proposes to confer full franchise on all men and to ignore

It was in the United States, however, the country of the pioneer workers for women's rights, that the full suffrage was first conferred upon women. The first legislative council of Wyoming, after its organization as a Territory, passed in 1890 a bill giving women the right to vote upon the same terms as men and making them eligible to all elective offices, and when Wyoming became a State in 1890 equal suffrage was made a part of its Constitution.

The latest move in the direction of removing sex disability in political matters has come from eastern Asia, and in all likelihood the next will come from northern Europe. The Government bill providing for the granting of parliamentary suffrage to women which is now under debate in the lower house has the hearty support of the King, and is receiving the most favorable consideration. Leading suffragists in this country are so sure it will pass that they say although the news will cause great rejoicing when it comes it will create but little excitement.

Leaving England and the United States out of consideration, the country which possesses at present the most interesting possibilities from the point of view of the suffragists is Portugal. It is impossible to predict with any degree of certainty the outcome of the numerous complications in which the various political factions have involved it, but the Government now in power seems not at all unfavorable to the extension of the ballot to women.

Last year Carolina Angelo, a physician, noticed that the new constitution did not forbid women to vote, and so she attempted to register. When she was not permitted to do so she carried her case through several courts and received from the highest a decision in her favor, and duly voted on election day. The President of the republic and three of the most prominent members of the Cabinet are known to be in favor of woman suffrage, and Mr. Alexander Braga, a member of Parliament, recently introduced into that body a bill on woman's rights.

There is a flourishing woman suffrage association in Portugal which publishes a newspaper. Mme. Castro Osorio, one of the leaders of the movement, is the editor.

The Parliamentary Commission in Rome

Italians, and the Church is unfavorable to it. The Mayor of Rome, on the other hand, is an enthusiastic advocate of woman suffrage, and deputies Luzzati, Lucifero and Mirabelli are doing their utmost to further the cause, as is also

women to obtain political rights has increased tremendously during the past decade. When the first international conference was held in the city of Washington in 1902, there were national organizations in only five countries—the

Denmark and Sweden sent delegates. At the convention of the alliance held last year in Stockholm twenty-seven national auxiliary associations were represented, besides correspondence groups in two additional countries, while men's leagues from five countries, England, Hungary, Holland, Sweden and the United States, sent fraternal delegates. A Men's International League, of which Sir John Cockburn, K. C. M. G., ex-Premier of South Australia is president; Ferdinand Buisson, M. P. of France, vice-president, and W. A. E. Mansfeldt of Holland secretary, is arranging a meeting to take place in London next fall.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Alliance, sailed for South Africa a few weeks after the close of the congress at Stockholm, and is making a tour of the world in company with Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, president of the Suffrage Association of the Netherlands in the interest of the cause. In a series of letters received by Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Catt tells of enthusiastic receptions in all the places she visits, and declares that women of all races seem to be tremendously interested in their own political emancipation.

South Africa she spoke at forty-seven meetings in twenty different towns. Proceeding up the east coast of Port Said, she took a trip through the Holy Land, and spoke at several meetings in Jerusalem. In Cairo, where she stayed a month, the women became very enthusiastic over suffrage, and a committee was formed on the spot.

After a week in Colombo she went on to India, where she succeeded in starting suffrage organizations in Calcutta and Bombay. She is now touring the island of Java in a motor car, and expects to return by way of Hongkong, the Philippines and Japan.

Suffragists have recently been very active in Russia, Turkey and France. The French newspapers are generally in favor of extending municipal suffrage to women, and many of them carry a woman suffrage department.



MRS. CARRIE
CHAPMAN
CATT,
PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.



SUFFRAGISTS
OF INDIA.

has approved a bill giving the franchise to all women of 25 possessing certain property and educational qualifications. There is, however, considerable opposition to such a measure among conservative

Signor Gallini, M. P., who introduced two years ago in the Chamber of Deputies a bill providing for municipal suffrage for women.

The world movement on the part of

United States, Great Britain, Australia, Norway and the Netherlands. Two years later, when the congress met in Berlin, and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was organized, Canada, Germany,